

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR OAS

SUBJECT: PHASE II OAS SPECIAL COMMITTEE, REPORT NO. 15

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE OAS SPECIAL COMMITTEE COMPLETED ITS
SECOND PHASE OF DELIBERATIONS HERE NOVEMBER 2. TALKS
WILL RESUME IN LIMA NOVEMBER 19. THE MEETINGS HAVE MADE
CLEAR THAT THE MAIN FOCUS OF THE REFORM MOVEMENT IS NOT
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STRUCTURE, BUT U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS. THE MOST
SIGNIFICANT DEBATES HAVE HIGHLIGHTED HOPE AND EXPECTATION
BY SOME LATINS THAT WE MAY CHANGE POLICIES WHICH THEY
DISLIKE. DESPITE MANY DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, THE COMMIT-

TEE HAS COME UP WITH A FIRST DRAFT OF ARTICLES 1, 2 AND 3 OF A PROPOSED NEW OAS CHARTER, COVERING PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES, THOUGH THERE ARE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS YET TO BE WORKED OUT. IT HAS ALSO MADE PROGRESS IN DEFINING THE ISSUES IN PROPOSED RIO TREATY REFORM. THE COMMITTEE WILL NOT HAVE COMPLETED EVEN THE PRELIMINARY WORK OF RESTRUCTURING THE OAS AND THE RIO TREATY BY THE END OF THE NEXT PHASE IN LIMA IN EARLY DECEMBER. END SUMMARY

1. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE, AFTER A FEW SESSIONS OF GENERAL DISCUSSION BROKE DOWN INTO THREE SUBCOMMITTEES, WHICH DID MOST OF THE WORK. THE FIRST SUBCOMMITTEE DEALT WITH POLITICAL AND JURIDICAL MATTERS, THE SECOND WITH ECONOMIC AND THE THIRD WITH STRUCTURAL. IN THE FIRST TWO SUBCOMMITTEES THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEBATES CENTERED ABOUT QUESTIONS, USUALLY ECONOMIC, WITH IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S.-LATIN RELATIONS. CHARTER DEBATE CENTERED ABOUT SEVERAL "CODE WORDS" INTRODUCED BY THE LATINS IN AN EFFORT TO RESTRAIN AND REDIRECT OUR ACTIONS. AMONG THEM ARE:

A. "IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM". THIS NOT ONLY RECOGNIZES EXPLICITLY THE POLITICAL REALITIES OF THE CONTINENT, BUT UNLIKE "PLURALITY OF IDEOLOGIES", IS INTERPRETED BY PERU AND OTHERS AS IMPLYING AN OBLIGATION FOR COOPERATION INCLUDING AID) REGARDLESS OF DIFFERENCES. IT ALSO LAYS A BASIS FOR CUBAN REINTEGRATION INTO THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNITY. BECAUSE OF DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION, THE TERM ITSELF WAS NOT PLACED IN THE CURRENT DRAFT. INSTEAD ONE PRINCIPLE IN THE DRAFT STATES IN PART THAT "EVERY STATE HAS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE, WITHOUT EXTERNAL INFLUENCES, ITS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEM AND TO ORGANIZE ITSELF IN THE WAY BEST SUITED TO IT".

B. "INTEGRAL DEVELOPMENT". ALL AGREE THAT THIS MEANS BALANCED SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BUT THE PERUVIANS HAVE TRIED TO IMPREGNATE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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IT WITH OTHER CONCEPTS, E.G., ABSOLUTE CONTROL BY HOST COUNTRIES OVER THEIR RESOURCES WITHOUT REGARD TO THE INTERESTS OR RIGHTS OF FOREIGN INVESTORS OR OTHER COUNTRIES. WE HAVE REJECTED THE PERUVIAN DEFINITION AND HAVE RESERVED OUR POSITION ON INCLUDING THE TERM PENDING FURTHER CLARIFICATION AND STUDY.

C. "COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY" AND "ECONOMIC AGGRESSION". PERU AND OTHERS ARE SEEKING TO INCORPORATE THESE CONCEPTS IN THE CHARTER AND THE RIO TREATY AND THUS BE ABLE TO BRING US TO THE BAR FOR CERTAIN ECONOMIC ACTS (E.G., THE HICKENLOOPER AND GONZALEZ AMENDMENTS, THE

IDB VETO, STOCKPILE RELEASES, ETC.). THESE EFFORTS RESPOND TO MANY OF THE SAME CONCERNS AS MEXICAN PRESIDENT ECHEVERRIA'S CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES IN THE U.N. WE HAVE OPPOSED ANY INCLUSION OF "ECONOMIC AGGRESSION". "COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY" MAY ALSO BE TOO STEEPED IN PERUVIAN SPECIAL DEFINITIONS (E.G., LEGALLY BINDING AID COMMITMENTS) TO PERMIT OF OUR ACCEPTANCE.

D. "COOPERATION WITHOUT CONDITIONS", OR AID WITHOUT STRINGS, PROPOSED BY PERU AND ARGENTINA. THIS SEEMS TO ENJOY A LATIN CONSENSUS. WE HAVE OPPOSED IT AS IMPOSSIBLE TO APPLY FROM A PRACICAL STANDPOINT AND IN ANY EVENT AN UNACCEPTABLE RESTRAINT ON OUR SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO DISPOSE OF OUR OWN RESOURCES.

2. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE THIRD SUBCOMMITTEE WERE OVERSHADOWED BY COMMITTEE I, SINCE THE DELEGATES REALIZED THAT CHANGES IN STRUCTURE COULD ONLY FOLLOW CHANGES IN THE ORIENTATION OF THE SYSTEM. NEVERTHELESS, WITHOUT MAKING DECISIONS, COMMITTEE III DID USEFUL WORK. IT DISCUSSED POSSIBLE STRENGTHENING OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL, WHICH WE FAVORED IN ORDER TO GIVE IT A COORDINATING ROLE OVER THE SPRAWLING ACTIVITIES OF THE OAS.

3. COMMENT: THE CLAMOR FOR REFORM OF THE OAS AND THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE. "REFORM" IS YET ANOTHER CODE WORD-- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THIS TIME FOR IMPROVING THE U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP. IT IS THROUGH THE REFORM PROCESS THAT THE LATIN AMERICANS ARE SEEKING TO ESTABLISH A NEW CONSENSUS THAT CODIFIES U.S. BEHAVIOR AND PLACES OBLIGATIONS AND RESTRAINTS ON IT--PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD.

4. DEBATES IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE SO FAR HAVE REFLECTED THIS FACT. THE "PRINCIPLE WHICH HAVE BEEN DEBATED WITH SUCH FERVOR ARE THE CORDS WITH WHICH THE LATIN AMERICANS, DISTRUSTFUL OF OUR POWER, WANT TO TIE GULLIVER DOWN. IT IS NOT ACCIDENTAL THAT PERU, WITH WHOM WE HAVE HAD SERIOUS BILATERAL DIFFERENCES OVER SO-CALLED ECONOMIC AGGRESSION, LED THE CHARGE ON OUR POSITIONS IN THE OAS. ARGENTINA, PANAMA AND ECUADOR HAVE BEEN THE CHIEF PLAYERS ON THE PERUVIAN TEAM. MEXICO, PUSHING ITS OWN MORE MODERATE READJUSTMENTS, IS A SOMETIME MEMBER. PITY, THE PANAMANIAN DELEGATE, FREQUENTLY USED THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FORUM TO ACCUSE THE U.S. OF COLONIALISM AND OF VIOLATIONS OF THE OAS CHARTER BY VIRTUE OF OUR CANAL POLICY.

5. THE U.S. DELEGATION FREQUENTLY ECHOED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S CALL FOR A DIALOGUE, EMPHASIZING THAT ONLY IF BOTH SIDES ADOPT AN ATTITUDE OF PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S., CAN THERE BE A SATISFACTORY ACCOMMODATION. WE HAVE NOT BEEN ISOLATED IN EVERY CASE. MUCH OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK HAS DEALT WITH DIFFERENCES AMONG THE LATINS THEMSELVES; THE U.S. DELEGATION WAS ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE DEBATES AS ONE AMONG MANY AND TO PROPOSE INITIATIVES ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY. BUT ON OTHER MATTERS WE HAD TO FIGHT ALONE, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION, WHERE THERE WAS A PERVASIVE FEELING THAT IT WAS UP TO THE U.S. TO MAKE THE POLITICAL DECISION (SHOW A "VOLUNTAD POLITICA") TO ACCEPT NEW OBLIGATIONS AND RESTRAINTS. THESE ARE ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSED DOCTRINE OF COLLECTIVE ECONOMIC SECURITY, WHICH THE LATINS TEND TO CONSIDER AS AN ECONOMIC COROLLARY OF THE DOCTRINE OF NON-INTERVENTION. THEY ARE FRANK IN SAYING THAT THEY ARE ENGAGED IN A FIGHT FOR "CONSCIENTIZACION" (I.E., SOFTENING UP) OF THE U.S. SIMILAR TO THAT IN THE LATE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TWENTIES AND EARLY THIRTIES ON NON-INTERVENTION.

6. BECAUSE THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE IS CONCERNED WITH REWRITING TREATY INSTRUMENTS WHICH SET THE NORMS FOR U.S.-LATIN RELATIONS, THE OUTLOOK IS FOR LONG BARGAINING, WELL BEYOND THE COMING LIMA MEETING AND EVEN BEYOND THE APRIL GENERAL ASSEMBLY. RUSH

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